

A
LETTER to a Friend,
Concerning a
French Invasion,
To Restore the
Late King JAMES to his Throne.

A N D
What may be Expected from him,
should he be Successful in it.

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L O N D O N,

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deal worse: And you remember how that was; for *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* are of too great Concernment, and have left too frightful an impression behind them, to be so soon forgot; and this will go a great way towards an answer to your *second Question*, unless you think we are bound to take King *James*, and a *French Government*, and a *French Popery* with him; which I shall not easily be perswaded to; and, I believe, there are not many *English Protestants* will.

But to Answer your *Questions* distinctly. As to the *First*, When we see what the late King *James* has done, what reason have we to expect, that should he return with Power, he would ever do otherwise? Is he more oblig'd now by his Protestant Subjects, than he was before? Can he make fairer Promises, than he did before? Is he less Zealous for *Popery*, or grown more out of Conceit with *Arbitrary Power*? Or will he be less able to make himself Arbitrary, and set up *Popery* when he returns a Conquerour? For I take it for granted he must conquer first, because King *William* won't abdicate nor steal away, and the Power that Conquers, will give Laws and Religion to the Conquer'd.

I know there are two Things pretended, as a Foundation for better hopes. *First*, That the late King is now sensible that the *English Nation* will never bear *Popery*, nor *Arbitrary Power*, and that he has suffered so much by these Attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. *Secondly*, The great Merits of the *Non-suspecting Clergy* and Gentry, which will atone for the *Church of England*, and make him their sure and fast Friend, Patron and Defender, especially if those who have been too forward in complying with the late Revolution,

volution, shall expiate that Crime by an early Repentance, and a vigorous Assistance to restore him to his Throne.

First, As for the *first*, there are too many Answers to be given to it, to hinder it from being the least probable ground of Hope; though Hope it self is, *Res incertæ nomen*, so very uncertain, especially when we guess only at the Inclinations of Princes, that *Lives*, and *Fortunes*, and *Liberties*, and *Religion*, are not to be ventured on it, against former Experience.

But to let that pass, pray consider what the true Import of this Argument is; for it amounts to this, that all Men will learn by Experience; that Men will not venture on those things a second time, which have proved fatal to them once; that Princes will certainly for ever after dislike such Counsels and Measures, as have already shaken their Thrones, and made their Crowns fall from their Heads.

Now we may Flatter our selves with such Hopes as these, which may upon some account be called reasonable Hopes, because there is great Reason it should be so; but yet they so often fail, that there is no Reason to rely upon them. The Repentance of dying Sinners and of undone Prodigals, who return to their old Sins again, if they recover their Health, or find new Treasures to waste, confutes such Expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement Love and fond Passion for any thing, which is the Case of old habitual Sinners; and no Man can be fonder of any Vice, than some Princes are of Unlimited and Arbitrary Power.

And when this is join'd with a resolv'd and inflexible Temper, which seems to yield, and had rather be undone a Thousand Times, than own, retract, or amend a Fault: Such Misfortunes do but whet Revenge, and make them swell as a River does when its Current is stopp'd, which flows with a more rapid and foaming Stream, when it has once forced its way.

Especially when Superstition is the prevailing Ingredient, which fires the Spirits, and raises imaginary Scenes of Glory out of the Loss of Crowns and Kingdoms: And what will such a Prince, if he ever recover his Throne and Power, forfeit the Glory of losing his Kingdoms again, by deserting the Cause for which he lost them before? No Man can certainly tell, how Superstition will Act, nor how it will Reason: Especially when the Consciences of Princes are under such Directors, as will venture their Crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own Designs, and know how to Expound Providence to Flatter Superstition: And then the Recovery of his Throne may be made a better Argument, and a stronger Obligation to revive and prosecute his old Designs, than the fear of losing it again can be to make him desist.

And to make this yet more demonstrative, with reference to the Late King, we ought to consider, That this is not the first Tryal he has had, and that this Consideration has done him no good.

He saw before what his Father King Charles the First suffered, only for some Attempts towards Arbitrary Power, and for meer Jealousies and Suspicions of his favouring Popery: He lost his Kingdoms and his Life, and his Sons suffered a long and hard Exile.

Charles

Charles the Second indeed took warning by this, and though possibly he might be big with the same Designs, yet would he not venture too far, nor discover himself too openly, for fear of *Travelling* again; as he used to speak: But King *James* had not Patience to conceal his Inclinations, till he came to the Crown; and that had like to have cost him his Crown, before he had it; and yet this was not sufficient to caution him against those violent Methods he afterwards used to advance Popery, which were so seasonably defeated by the happy arrival of our present *Sovereign*, whom God long preserve: And those who are so desirous to try him again in *England*, as they have lately done in *Ireland*, to their full Satisfaction, if they could try only for themselves, should have my free Consent to make the Experiment.

Have not the poor *Irish* Protestants made it to their Cost, even since this very Revolution, from whence, and from the Wisdom he must needs have Learned by it, this miraculous Change in Him is now expected? And did they find any such Change in him, unless for the worse? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good Behaviour, when he wanted their Assistance to secure his Possession of that Kingdom, and to Recover his other Dominions. And when, in Reason, it might have been expected, that, whatever Resentments he had, he would have thought it his Interest to have treated *Protestants* with greater Tenderness and Respects. But if the Necessity of his own Affairs could not obtain this from him, what must *Protestants* expect,

if he return with Power? And though some *Protestants* here in *England*, seem not to be at all affected with this Experiment, yet it hath made such an impression upon the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, that they are for ever cured of their Fondness, and have not the least Curiosity left to make any further Tryals.

It is pretended indeed, in Excuse of this, that he was then under the Government of *French* Ministers and Counsels, and under the Power of *Irish* Priests and Papists, and so was not at Liberty to follow his own Inclinations: I should be very glad of a good Argument to prove, that he had better Inclinations. But however, what Comfort is this to *Protestants*, that he has better Inclinations, but is not his own Master? For if he must never shew any Kindness to *Protestants*, it is no matter what his Inclinations are: And can any Man imagine, That if the *French* King by Force and Power place him on the Throne, he will be less under his Government than he was in *Ireland*? The *French* King, among many other wise *Maxims*, has this, I am sure, for one, Never to make a King, without making him his own Vassal; and the Power that can make a King, can make him his Slave: So that it is to no purpose to enquire what King *James* will do, but what King *Lewis* will do, if King *James* returns?

Secondly, As for the great Merits of the *Nonswearing* Clergy and *Laity*, I greatly suspect, that neither the Late King *James* nor King *Lewis* will think them so great as they themselves do. Their Merit must consist

consist either in their Principles, or in their Practices. And we will briefly consider both.

Their meritorious Principle is this, That the Rights of Princes, especially of Hereditary Princes, to their Thrones, are so Sacred and Inviolable, that as they cannot forfeit them to their own Subjects by any Male-administration, so neither can they by any Provocations, or by any success of War, forfeit them to any other Princes: That while such a Prince, or any Legal Heir is living, no other Prince can have any Right to his Throne, nor must his Subjects own and submit to any other Prince, as their Sovereign Lord.

Now as much as this Principle seems to Flatter Princes, and to make their Thrones Eternal, I am apt to suspect, that no Prince, who considers the just Consequence of Things, can think it so very meritorious; for it is a very dangerous Principle to Weak and Unfortunate Princes, and an intolerable Restraint upon the Aspiring and Ambitious. It is Dangerous to the Unfortunate, because it lays a Necessity upon the Conquerour to take away his Life, if he can, as well as his Throne, since he cannot lose his Throne, without losing his Life, though most Princes would rather chuse to have them parted, than lose both together; And how do they think King *Lewis* will like this Principle, which stands in the way of his Glory, and preaches Restitution to him of all those Dominions, whose legal Heirs are living; which teaches the Subjects of other Princes to deny him Fealty and Obedience, and to Conspire with their Legal Princes against him.

I doubt

I doubt not but he likes the Principle as little as he would like the Practice, and that our *Nonswearers* would quickly understand, were they the Subjects of his New Conquests, which God grant *England* may never be.

Indeed, how great a Complement soever this Principle may be thought to Princes, it can have no Merit, because, though it may in some junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindred a Revolution, and never can make one; and the Reason is plain, because no Princes, and very few Subjects, do believe it, and practice upon it. If a Prince have a just Cause of War against another Prince, he makes no Scruple, if he Conquers, to take his Crown; and the Subjects of such a conquered Prince make no Scruple of Conscience to submit to the Conquerour; though sometimes a personal Kindness for a Just and Indulgent Prince, and a Concernment for their own Liberties and Fortunes, may make them uneasy under it, and glad of the first Opportunity to do themselves and their Prince Right.

The Truth, is Princes have no Reason to like this Principle; for, were it true, they could have no Remedies against the Injuries of Neighbour Princes; they might indeed Fight and Conquer, but they had better let it alone, if they must not take the Throne, which their Sword has won; for it is only the Fear of Conquest, and losing their Crowns, when they are Conquered, that can keep Princes in Awe, and bring them to Just and Equal Terms; and if no Prince must lose his Crown, because no
Prince

Prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an Injurious and Obstinate Prince into good Terms; and, I believe, Princes will as soon be persuaded, That it is Unlawful to make War, as that it is Unlawful to seize a conquered Crown, and will think one as meritorious a Principle as the other.

And it is certain, Subjects have less Reason to like this Principle, because it makes them Slaves and Sacrifices even to the Misfortunes of their Prince. A Prince, when he is Conquer'd, or sees that he must be Conquer'd, may escape by Flight, but a whole Nation cannot run away; and if they could, have no Reason to leave their Country, and their Fortunes behind them: And yet, according to this Principle, they must not submit nor swear Allegiance to the Conquerour, while the Prince who has forsaken them lives, though they cannot Secure their Lives and Fortunes without it. But Nature and Common Sense is too powerful for the Sophistry of such Principles, and those who cannot Reason, can feel what they are to do in such Cases. The Loyalest Subjects, when no personal Obligations, or secret Interests determine them otherwise, will save themselves by Submission, when they cannot defend their Prince by their Arms; and do not think they do ill in it: And I suppose Princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the Subjects of other Princes in the like Circumstances; and such an Universal Consent both of Princes and Subjects,

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As, when there is no Law of God or Nature against it, makes it a standing Law in all Revolutions, which both Princes and Subjects must submit to. So that this Principle, were it never so true, can do no Service, and therefore can have no Merit in this World, because there are so few that believe it; that they are not hands enough either to keep a Prince on his Throne, or to restore him to it. All our *Nonswearers* could not hinder the late Revolution, nor can they make another: They are enow to make a noise, especially if the Loud and Zealous Ladies of that Side be reckoned in; but other Hands and other Pretences must do their Work, if ever they hope to see it done; and theff no thanks to their Principles for it. Whatever Reward their future Services may deserve, Princes themselves will not think that their Principles deserve any.

Let us then now consider the Merit of their Actions, and what Opinion the *Late King* is like to have of that, if he should return.

I suppose, they will be contented he should forget their Merits towards him, while he was on the Throne; especially about reading his Declaration; as likewise their *Tower* and their *Westminster-Hall* Merits; which were indeed very great, and did deserve and would have had a better Reward from a better Hand, had they not rendered themselves incapable of it. But sure they don't expect the *Late King* should Reward them for such Services. He knew that this raised that general discontent, which occasi-

concerning a French Invasion. 11

occasioned that General Revolt; which cost him Three Crowns. And if all their Merits can Expiate this Guilt, they come off well; and those had need be very Extraordinary Merits, which have first so great a Guilt to Expiate, before they can pretend to Merit. Could their Nonswearing restore him to his Throne again, it would but just undo what they had done, which is no more than their Duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not so much as a Pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful Hands. But still there are Four Years Exile, and the loss of Three Crowns, and the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; the Dishonour of so many Defeats, and the Ruine of *Ireland* to be accounted for; and how can they make Restitution for all this? Which yet they must do before they can lay Claim to Merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their Interest it should; but they are very sanguine Men, if they hope it will. Whence then will they date their Merits?

When it was certainly known, that the *Prince of Orange*, now our Gracious Sovereign, was ready to Land, they seemed as well pleas'd with it as other Men; and refused, when they were press'd to it by the *Late King*, to declare their Abhorrence of it; but, instead of that, took upon them to give him Advice, and to publish it when they had done: In which Advice they recommended almost every Particular of the *Prince's Declaration*, com-
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plained of the same Abuses, and advised the Calling of a Parliament to redress them; as if the Prince's Declaration, and their Advice had been drawn by the same Pen, and the Advice had been published on purpose to second the Declaration. This, I suppose, they will not reckon among their Merits neither: And if they can excuse what was so hastily done at *Guiddball*, before the *Late King* was gone out of the Land, they may very well be contented no more should be said of that.

The only Merit then they have to pretend, is their Refusing the Oath of Allegiance to *King William* and *Queen Mary*, and forfeiting their Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military Preferments for it: But what is this to the *Late King*? Is this done out of Kindness to him or his Government? Would they not have been contented to have lived Peaceably and Quietly, as they themselves professed, could they have kept their Preferments, and have been excused from the *New Oaths*? And how do they merit of him, by refusing the Oaths with the Loss of their Preferments, if they did it not for his sake, but for another and better Reason, for fear of being Damned? God may Reward this, but *King James* is not beholden to them. Will they be better Subjects hereafter? Will they read his Declaration, when he Returns? Will they make his Will their Law? Will they submit to his next Ecclesiastical Commission, and give up their Colledges and Churches to Priests and Jesuits? Will they be content to take him the very same Man that he went away, and

and to serve him in his own way? Will they no more fill the Nation with the noise and fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power? Will they turn *Papists* themselves, or stand by patiently, and give leave to his Priests to pervert *Protestants* as fast as they can? Will they promise to demean themselves with more respect towards the King's Religion, and to leave off their old sawciness of Printing and Preaching against Popery? This indeed would bid fair for Merit, but if they oppose his Methods of Government, and his Glorious Designs, as much as they do King *William's* Right; if it be only a Title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneasy at the Change, their not Swearing does him no Service; He could have kept his Kingdoms upon these terms before, but he scorned it, and so he will those, who to save their Consciences or their Honours, and to recover their Preferments, would have him upon these terms again.

As much as some Men glory in their steddiness to Principles, which is certainly a very Honourable thing, and an excellent degree of Virtue, when the Principles are plain and certain, yet few Princes (to be sure, not the late King) like such a steddiness to Principles, as opposes their Designs; a stubborn, inflexible Conscience, is a very unruly thing, and Kings do not like such Subjects as dare oppose a King upon the Throne, whatever the Cause be. So that I suspect, their very Boldness and Resolution in opposing their present

present *Majesties* upon a meer point of Law, will be thought no Virtue fit to be rewarded by a Prince; who would make his Will Superiour to all Laws.

And if the Merit of the *Non-Swearers* is likely to vanish into nothing, especially when there is no occasion any longer to court and flatter them, and *Priests* and *Jesuits* have free liberty to comment on their Merits; what Merit will those Men have to plead, who were forward and zealous in the Revolution, have Sworn Allegiance to their present *Majesties*, have served them in their Armies and Navies, at home and abroad? There is no doubt, but they shall have fair Promises and good words at present, and shall be remembered hereafter, when there is occasion.

But suppose the Merits of the *Non Swearing* or *For-Swearing* Clergy and Laity, who will help forwards another Revolution, should be acknowledged to be very great; what probability is there, that the Church of *England* should fare ever the better for it, when Popery and Arbitrary Power stand in the way? past Experience gives no great Encouragement to hope this. King *Lewis* was as much obliged to his Protestant Subjects of *France*, as it is possible for any King to be; for they set the Crown upon his Head; and how he has rewarded them, all the world rings of it. The late King was not much less beholden to the Church of *England*, when they so vigorously opposed the *Bill* of

of *Exclusion*; and how he also rewarded them, we all lately saw and felt. And shall *Protestants* after this, think of obliging such *Princes* by their Merits? They understand better, that Merit is no *Protestant Doctrine*, and that there can be none out of the Church of *Rome*. And why should any body expect that which cannot be. Nay, should the late *King* return again, and be as much at the Devotion of his *Nonswearing* Friends, as they promise themselves he will be; I very much doubt what the Church of *England* will gain by this. If we may guess at the Spirit of the Party by the bitter Zeal, which inspires all their *Writings*, I can expect nothing from them, but as fierce a Persecution of the Church of *England*, as ever it suffered from *Papists* or *Fanatics*, excepting *Smithfield Fires*, which possibly may be exchanged for *Tyburn*. All who live in the Communion of the Church of *England*, as now Established, are in their account and constant Language, no better than *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, and *Perjured Apostates*, much greater Crimes than the *Traditores* were guilty of, which was the only pretence for the *Donatist Schism* and Persecution. They seem to comfort themselves under their present Sufferings, more with the sweet hopes of Revenge, than any great expectations of future Rewards; that they shall live to see the *Swearing Bishops* and *Priests*, the contempt of *Princes* and *People*; for if the A. B. of *York*, who is particularly na-

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med, cannot escape them, I doubt they will make but very few exceptions. And is not this a great encouragement to any who have complied with the present Government, to help these Men to Power again? Must not the *Nobility* and *Gentry* expect their share of Vengeance, as well as the *Clergie*? And is not the Church of *England* then in a hopeful state, which must be purged and reformed into *Jacobite Principles*, and by a *Jacobite Spirit*?

These are all very sensible Proofs (as far as we can reason about such matters) how little good is to be expected from the return of the *late King* with a *French Power*: He must return the same Man he went, and then *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power* must return with him; nay, he must return much worse than he went, because he must return more a *Vassal* to *France*, which I suppose will not mend the Condition of *English* Subjects, during his Reign.

These things ought to be well considered; for if his Government was so uneasie before, and gave us such a frightful prospect, as made the Nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; it would seem very strange to by-standers, should they now grow fond of his return, when it is certain if he does return, and returns by the Methods now intended, *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power* must be more Triumphant than ever.

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He wanted nothing but Power to make himself Absolute, and to make us all *Papists*, or *Martyrs*, or *Refugees*; and that he will now have: For if a *French* Power can Conquer us, it will make him as Absolute as the *French* King will let him be; or to speak properly, it will make him, though not an Absolute Prince, yet an Absolute *Viceroy*, and Minister of *France*: He will Administer an Absolute Power and Government, under the influence and direction of *French* Councils: and then we know what will become of the Liberties and Religion of *England*. And have we so long disdain'd the thoughts of subjection to *France*? Has a *French* League been thought such a National Grievance? Has the pretence of a War with *France* been found such an excellent expedient to get Money of *English* Parliaments? Has the expectation of it fired *English* spirits, and upon occasion fill'd our Armies and Navies, without need of Pressing or beat of Drum? Have we so detested the *French* Cruelties to *Protestants*? And shall we now so willingly stoop to the yoke, and think it a great favour that they will vouchsafe to Conquer us? Let us never complain hereafter, that our Chains pinch and gall us, when we our selves are ready with so much joy and thankfulness to put them on. And whatever some fancy they will find it a very easy and natural thing, for the late *King*, if he return by Force and Power, to make himself Absolute by Law: Princes always gain new Powers by the ineffectual opposition of Subjects: If they lose their Crowns and recover them again, they receive them with an addition of some brighter Jewels; and turn disputed Prerogatives into Legal and undoubted Rights. Thus we know it was when King *Ch. 2d.* Returned from a long Exile, all the New *Acts* and *Declarations* were made in favour

of the Crown, and Subjects bound to their good Behaviour; as fast as Laws could bind them; for in all such *Revolutions*, those who suffered with, or for their *Prince*, return with zeal and resentment; and take care in the first place to establish all such *Prerogatives* of the Crown, as were disputed before, and to grant such new Powers as they think are wanting. And others there are, always forward to make their fortunes by Complementing the returning *Prince*; and to expiate their former crimes by a forward and flaming Loyalty; and the rest are over-awed and frightened into a compliance; thus it is commonly seen, that between zeal, and and flattery, and fear, the King increases in Power, and the People forfeit their Liberties; and we must not expect that it should be otherwise now, should the *late King* return.

The first Complement that must be made to him, is a *Jacobite Parliament*, and God knows what such a *Parliament* will do! Will they deny him a Toleration for *Papists*, the repeal of the *Test*, the forfeitures, or surrenders of Charters, and a new Regulation of Corporations? Will they dispute, nay, will they not declare his *Dispensing Power*, and approve his *Eccllesiastical Commissions*? Will they make any scruple to declare the Legitimacy of the *Prince of Wales*, or to leave the manner of his Education to those who will certainly Breed him up in Popery? Will they not take care for new *Jacobite Tests* to renounce and abhor all the several *Hypotheses* and *Principles* of Government, which have been urged to justify our Submission and Allegiance to their present Majesties? And when they have done this, How easy will it be for a downright *Popish Parliament*, which will be the next step that will be made, to do all the rest?

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It is very evident what advantages the *Priests* and *Jesuits* will have in such a juncture to make *Profelytes*, while the People are in a fright, and grown giddy with such frequent Revolutions; and those, who in the late Reign, were the great Advocates of the *Protestant* Cause, are disgrac'd at Court, threaten'd into silence, their Authority weaken'd, and their Persons reproach'd both by *Papists* and *Jacobites*. Numbers of *Converts* was their great want before, and the Press and the Pulpit their great hindrance; but *Jacobites* will by natural instinct learn more Loyalty, and others will be taught it, as *Gideon* once taught the men of *Succoth* with Briars and Thorns. And there never was such an opportunity since the *Reformation* for a plentiful Harvest of *Converts*, as this would be like to prove. And who can bear the thoughts of this, who has any compassion for the Souls of Men, any Zeal for the Church of *England*, or any concern to preserve and propagate the true Faith and Worship of Christ to posterity?

All this is upon a supposition of the late *King's* return, which I declare to you I am not afraid of, though it is fit to mind those men who are so fond of it, what they may reasonably expect, if he should return; which possibly may abate their zeal in this cause, and that may prevent the mischiefs of an attempt; for without a hopeful Conspiracy in *England*, the *French King* is too wary to make such an Attempt.

But if they have any love to their Countrey, any pity left in them for the lives and fortunes of *English Protestants*, I beseech them to consider what the Calamities and Desolations of Civil War will be; for that it must end in, if there be an Invasion from abroad strengthened with a powerful Conspiracy at home: *King William*, as I

said before, will not Desert or *Abdicate*; for I never heard of a Prince who had ventured so much to rescue a Kingdom out of so great a danger, that would so easily expose it again to the same, or a greater danger. And surely the *late King* does not expect he should, for he knows him too well: So that if they look for such another *Revolution*, to turn King *William* out, as brought him in, they will, in all probability, be mistaken. There are too many Persons of Honour and Fortune engaged in this Cause, who know the *late King* too well to take his Word; and were it possible to wheedle men of Fortune and Sense, the genius and spirit of the Nation is against them: And that which could make the *late Revolution*, will probably be able to prevent this.

It must then come to Blows, if an attempt be made; and the fortune of one Battel may not decide it; and those who are too young to remember the desolations which the late Civil Wars in *England* made, let them look into *Ireland*, and see to what a heap of rubbish a flourishing and fruitful Countrey is reduced by being the scene of a Three Years War.

It is made a popular pretence to raise discontents, and to make people disaffected to the present Government, that the Taxes for maintaining this War are grown so into'erable, and there is no prospect of an end of them: Now I must confess, that the Taxes fall very heavy upon some, and am sorry that the present posture of our Affairs does require it, and that there can be no easier ways found to supply the plain and pressing necessities of the State: But we ought to consider, that still all this is infinite y^easier than *Popery* and *French Slavery*, if we regard only our Estates. The Annual ex-
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actions of the Church of *Rome*, (besides all the cheating ways their Priests had to get Money), while *Poper*y was the Religion of *England*, used to be complained of as a National Grievance, and a heavier Tax upon the Subject, than all the King's Revenues : And if those who complain of our *Taxes*, were but one month in *France*, to see the Poverty and Misery which the *French* Government has brought upon them, they would come home very well contented to pay Taxes, and to fight against the *French* too. We are Free Subjects, not Slaves; we are taxed by our own *Representatives*, who tax themselves as well as us ; and this not by the Arbitrary Will of the Prince. We pay for our own Defence and Preservation as all people ought to do ; and while we do not pay near so much as our Religion, and Lives, and Liberties are worth, and have left wherewithal to maintain our selves, we have no such great reason to complain.

But how heavy soever Taxes are, are they like a Civil War? Like the dread and terrors of an Enemies Army, or of our own? Are they like having our Houses filled with Soldiers; or which is worse, burnt or plundered? Are they like losing our Friends, our Fathers, Husbands. or Children; by whose kindness or labours we subsisted? In a word, Are they like the Spoils of Harveft, or the Desolation of a whole Countrey?

And can we be contented to see *England* again the Seat of War? It is certain in our present circumstances it cannot be made so, unless we our selves please : *France* has too many Enemies, to think of Conquering *England* without factions at home ; and were it not for them, we need not fear its united Force; and I hope considering men, of what *Perswasion* soever they be, will

will not think it worth the while to ruin their Countrey by a Civil War, to purchase a *French Slavery* and *Poverty*; two very dear things, could we purchase them never so cheap.

What I have said hitherto, only concerns *England*; but it becomes us to look a little abroad, and consider, what a fatal Influence a *French Conquest* of *England* will have upon the Affairs of all *Europe*. That it is not mere Justice and Honour that makes the *French King* espouse the Cause of the late King *James*, his Encroachments and Usurpations on his Neighbours, will witness. He has no scruples of Conscience about the Rights of other Princes; all he can get is his own. But *England* was formerly a Friend and Confederate, at least, not an Enemy; and now the Power of *England*, (which the *French* have never had reason to despise) is in the hands of a King who owes the *French King* a good turn, and will not, I hope, dye in his debt. This checks his ambitious designs; gives life and spirit to the Confederacy; threatens to make him restore what he has taken, and what he keeps by meer force and violence, and to reduce him within his Ancient Bounds, and to the Ancient Constitution of the *French* Government; and he knows while King *William* possesses the *English* Throne, and keeps up the Confederacy, he must not expect to get much more, and may be in constant danger of losing what he has gotten.

This makes the *French King* so concerned to restore the late King *James* to the Throne of *England*, to get rid of a Formidable Enemy, and to strengthen himself with the Alliance of a Powerful Friend; for *England* will probably turn the scales, on which side soever it happens to be: And there is no doubt, but the Arms of

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England must be devoted to the service of *France*; if a *French* Power should place the late *King* in his Throne again; and let any *English* Protestant who can think coolly of things, consider what a malignant aspect this would have upon the Liberties of *Europe*, and on the whole Protestant Interest.

The Arms or the Money of *France*, has hitherto been an equal Match, at least for all the Confederates; while he has found other employment for the *Imperial* and *English* Forces; but thanks be to God, the *King* of *England*, and the *English* Forces, are now at leisure to attend his Motions; those Forces which beat him at the *Boyn*, at *Athlone*, at *Agrim*, at *Lymrick*; in a word, which beat him out of *Ireland*, and have now got a habit of beating the *French*: And it is no wonder that he is not fond of such company in *Flanders*, but endeavours to find some new work for them at home. And if he can but send them home again, and embroil us in a Civil War, that is one great point gained; but if he proves successful in his Attempt, he makes *England* his own, and will turn their Arms upon the Confederates; and what can then stand in his way? What should hinder him from being the sole and absolute *Monarch* of the *West*? And then it is easie to read the Fate of *Protestants*.

Thus, *Sir*, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the necessary and unavoidable effects of a *French* Conquest. I pretend not to prophesie, nor to demonstration in such cases; but what I have said, has all the appearances of probability, all the degrees of moral certainty that any thing of this nature can have; and that is the only Rule in these matters by which wise men are to judge and act.

And

And this has prepared a plain and easie Answer to your *Second Question*, What *English* Subjects are bound in Conscience to do, in case the *late King* should land in *England* with *French Forces* to demand his Crown.

Now there are two sorts of persons concerned in this question : 1. Those who have not sworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but account the late King *James* as much their King, as he was when he sat upon the Throne ; and that their obligations to him are the same now that ever they were. 2. Those who have sworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. And there are two parts of this Question ; 1. Whether they are bound in conscience to assist the late King if he return ? 2. Whether it be lawful for them to oppose him, and fight against him ?

As for the first part of this Question, and as far as it concerns the *Non-swearers*, I shall ask them two or three Questions, and leave them to answer them, themselves.

1. The first question is, Whether they can think themselves bound in conscience, upon any pretence whatever, to fight for *Papery* against the *Protestant* Faith and Worship ; that is, (as they must confess, if they are Protestants) to fight for Heresie and Idolatry against the true Faith and Worship of Christ ; or to fight for *Antichrist*, and against Christ ? Can any consideration make this lawful ? If nothing can (as I will venture to take it for granted, that nothing can) then whatever duty they may fancy they still owe to their *Abdicated Prince*, it cannot be their Duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him, without fighting against Christ and his Religion ; though they must not fight against their Prince for *Christ*, because *Christ* is in such cases

cases requires his Disciples to suffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they must fight for their Prince against *Christ*, to bring a Persecution upon his faithful Disciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the Name and the Religion of *Protestants* out of *Europe*.

Do they think themselves bound in Conscience to fight for their Prince, against the Laws and Liberties of their Countrey, as well as against the Faith and Worship of *Christ*? Let the Rights of Princes be never so Sacred, have the rest of mankind no Rights, but only Princes? Is there no such thing as Justice due to our selves, nor to our Fellow-Subjects? Have the Free-born Subjects of *England*, no Natural, no Legal Rights? And is there any Law of God or man, to fight for our Prince, against the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey, which are the measures and boundaries of that Duty which we owe to Princes? that is, to fight for our Prince, against the rule of our duty and obedience to Princes; when our Prince, and the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey are on contrary sides, so we should grant them, (according to their own Principles) that we must not fight against our Prince for our Laws and Liberties, yet no more must we fight for our Prince against our Laws and Liberties: It is abundantly enough, to be Passive in such cases; but a Nation which fights against its own Laws and Liberties, is *Fe'o dese*, guilty of the worst kind of Self-Murder. Can any *English*-man, whatever opinion he has of the late *King's* Right, think himself bound in conscience to maintain his Right, by giving up his Countrey to *France*? To make him *King*, and all his Subjects *French Slaves*? For can any Prince have more Right to be King of

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England, than the Kingdom of *England* has to be *England*?

Is it not an unaccountable tenderness and scrupulosity of Conscience, to be so concerned for any one Prince's Right, as to sacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in *Europe*, to his? To set him upon the Throne, to drive all other Princes from theirs? We are Citizens of the World, as well as Subjects of *England*, and have our Obligations to Mankind, and to other Princes, as well as to our own; and though our obligation to no one other Prince is so great, as to our own, yet the publick good of mankind, or of a great part of the world, is a more sacred obligation, than the particular Interest of our own Prince or Countrey; much less then can the Right of any particular Prince, be it what it will, stand in competition with the Rights and Liberties of our own Countrey, and of all *Europe* besides.

It is to no more purpose to dispute with men who do not feel the Force of this Argument at the first hearing, than to reason with blind men about Colours; they have no sense left, nothing but a stupid and slavish Loyalty; all things, tho never so sacred, must give place to this; the care of Religion, the love of their Countrey, their Justice and Charity to all mankind, must vail to their senseless mistake of the true meaning of this word *Loyalty*; by which they will needs understand an Absolute Obedience, without Limitation or Reserve; when most certainly, it signifies no more than Obedience according to Law.

2. I would ask them, What they would think themselves bound to do in such cases, were the late King upon the Throne again? Unless they have chang'd their minds (and then they are not so steady to Principles, as they pre-

pretend to be) we may very reasonably guess, what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the Throne. It is certain they so much dislike'd his open designs of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, that they opposed him as far as they durst, and would not Fight for him to keep him on the Throne, nay, by their Examples and Counsels, they had so influenced the Army, that they would not Fight for him neither; and so possess'd the Country, that the *Nobility* and *Gentry* took Arms, and declared for the *Prince of Orange*, which they thought they might very well do, when the *Bishops* would not declare against him. This was then thought consistent enough with the *High-Tory-Loyalty*; and yet if they were not then bound to Fight for him to keep him on his Throne, I am at a great loss to know, how it comes to be their duty now to Fight for him to restore him to it: He was certainly their King then; and yet they would not fight for him, nor to defend his Person, Crown and Dignity. And tho' they call him *their King* still, it is certain he is not *King of England*, whatever right they may think he has to be so; and therefore to fight for him now, is not to fight for the King, but to fight to make him King again. But to let that pass, suppose him to be their King, since they will have him so, How do they come to be more obliged to fight for him now he is out of the Throne, than they were to fight for him while he was in it? If they think it their duty to fight for their King against the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberties of their Countrey, it was their duty to have fought for him then; if they do not think this, it cannot be their duty to fight for him now.

But they did not expect what followed ; they desired to have their Laws and Liberties secured, but not that he should lose his Crown : I believe very few did then expect what followed, no more than they do now consider what will follow : But since he would leave his Crown, Who could help it ? For no body took it from him.

3. Let me then ask them another question ; Whether they would think themselves bound in Conscience to fight for him, did they verily believe, that if he recovered his Throne, he would as zealously promote *Papery* and *Arbitrary* Power, as he did before ? If they say they would not, they have been at their *non putaram* once already ; a second oversight in the same kind, would be worse than the first. If they say they would, I give them over, as profess'd Enemies to the true Religion, and the Liberties of Mankind.

This I hope may satisfy the *non-swearers*, if they will coolly and seriously consider it, that they are not bound in Conscience to fight for the *late King* ; nay, that they are as much bound in Conscience not to fight for him, as they are bound not to fight against the *Protestant Religion*, and Civil Liberties not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*.

2. As for those who have Sworn Allegiance to *King William* and *Queen Mary* ; besides all the former considerations, they are under the obligations of an Oath, not to fight against their present *Majesties*, whose Sworn Subjects and *Leigemen* they are. For let them expound *Faith* and *True Allegiance*, to as low a sense as possibly they can, the least that they ever could make of it, is to live *quietly and peaceably* under their Government ; not to attempt any thing against their Persons, or Crowns, not

to hold any Correspondence with, nor to give any Assistance to their Enemies ; and therefore to countenance a *French Invasion*, or to assist the *late King* in recovering the Throne, which Their Majesties so well fill, and which they have Sworn not to dispossess them of, must be downright Perjury. If they be sure that their Oaths to the *late King* still oblige them, that indeed would make void the obligation of this Second Oath ; but then they must be guilty of Perjury in taking it, and by the breaking of it will declare to all the world, that they deliberately, and wilfully Perjured themselves when they took it ; and let them remember this, when they take Arms against Their Majesties, and let them expect that recompence which they deserve.

Those who took this, only as a Temporary Oath, which obliged them no longer than till the *late King* should return into *England* again to demand his Crown, are guilty of Perjury, if they keep it no longer than till they have a promising opportunity to break it : For this is to mock God, and to deceive the Government by their Oaths : For no man can think that the meaning of the Oath was no more but this, *I do Promise and Swear to bear Faith and true Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, till I have Power and Opportunity by the return of King James with a French Army, to join his Forces, and to Assist him to recover his Throne.* Those who will take and keep Oaths at this rate, we must leave to God : But nothing is more plain and certain, than that the New Oath of Allegiance obliges all, who have taken it, under the guilt of Perjury, at least not to fight for the *late King* against *King William* and *Queen Mary*.

And here I may very fairly conclude, without entering into a longer dispute about the lawfulness of fighting against

against a *Foreign Army*, though the *late King* were at the Head of it; for were those, who scruple this, satisfied that they ought not to fight for him, their present *Majesties* have *Friends* enow, who are very well satisfied to fight against him; especially bringing along with him the greatest *Enemies* both to the *Protestant Religion*, and to the *Civil Liberties*, not only of the *English Nation*, but of all the *Kingdoms* and *States* of *Europe*, *France* it self not excepted.

However, this Letter is large enough already, and if I find you desire farther satisfaction in this matter, especially about the late King *James's* Declaration, which is lately comè to my hands, you may expect a speedy account of it in a Second Letter from

Sir, Yours.

F I N I S.

